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THE NEW REPUBLIC

December 25, 1965, 35 cents

Deeper into the Trap

A Christmas Message on Vietnam

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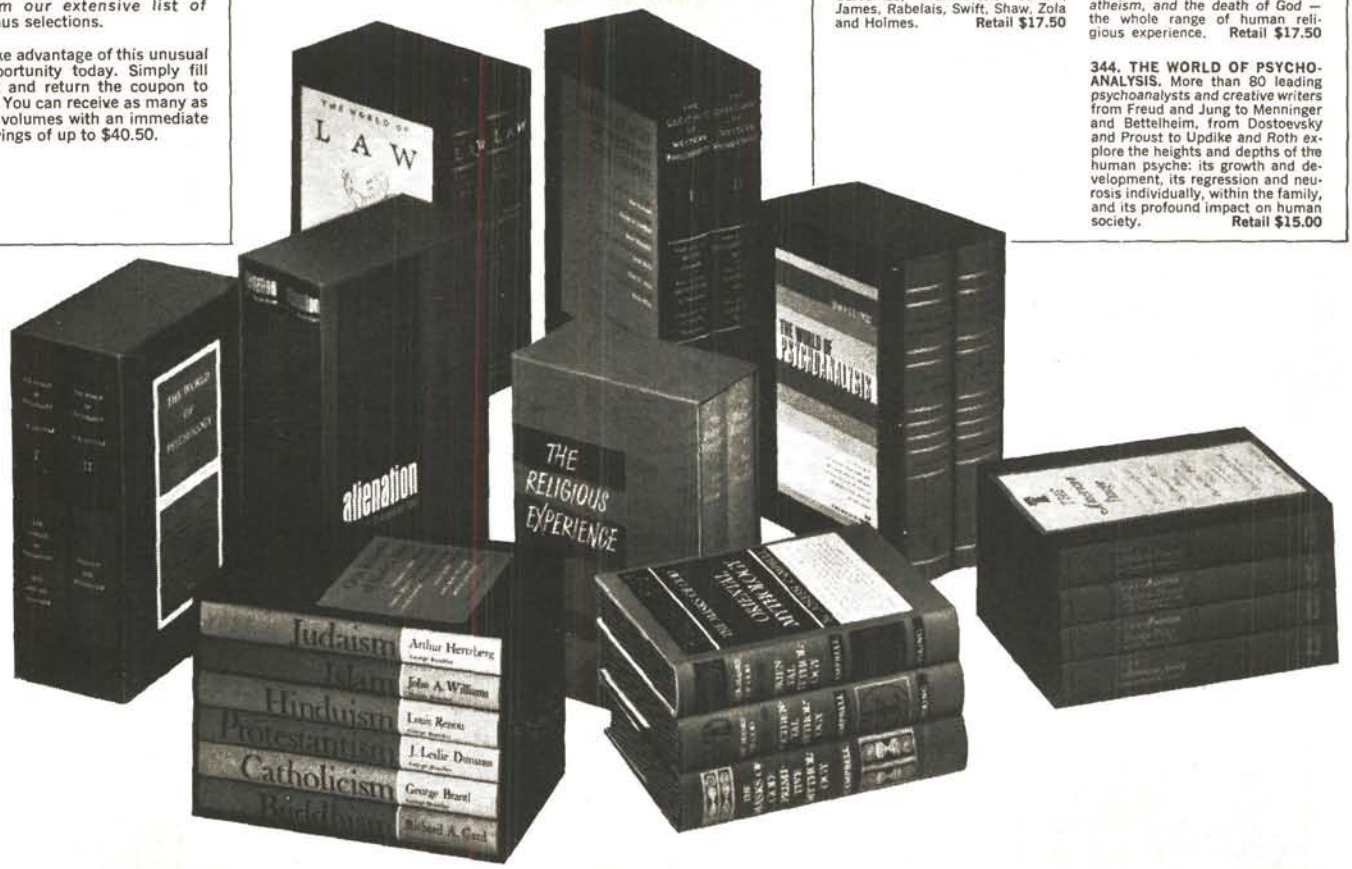

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CERTAIN MOMENTS, of bittersweet necessity, must be etched in the retaining walls of history.

One such moment occurred on a bright, cold morning last December in a Capitol Hill office. There, grasping the *New York Times*, was the junior senator from Massachusetts in a state of consternation. On the *Times*' front page was the account of an interview on Vietnam with Idaho Senator Frank Church. The interview was in a magazine called Ramparts which the *Times* described as "edited for lay Catholics."

"But I'm a Catholic," said Ted Kennedy, "and I never heard of Ramparts!"

We pass on this bit of historical miscellany for what it is worth. It gave the boys in the Ramparts' counting house at Menlo Park a hearty chuckle. It also illustrates what a crazy magazine, really, this is.

Some people (like the *New York Times*) think Ramparts is a Catholic magazine. Others (like Cardinal McIntyre) think it's anti-Catholic. A lot of people think we're Communist. Trotskyites, even. And we've been called Birchers, too, of course.

Well, that's the rub.

What Ramparts *is* is the subject of rather constant conversation. We certainly *were* a Catholic magazine, once, back when we were a quarterly (1962-1964). But that was before Protestants and Jews and other types came into the pages. And onto the staff.

We suppose one could say that we're now part of the liberal press, whatever *that* is. But this would fly in the face of Ramparts' criticism of the Liberal Establishment as the essential providers of the para-missionary mentality underlying the Johnsonian consensus that, sometimes, you have to bomb people for their own good.

This all leaves us with a missing definition and a proposition:

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Anyway, even if this doesn't solve our identity problem, it all may help make it a livelier new year for you —with the Establishment-dissecting in Ramparts by writers as diverse as Jessica Mitford and Leslie Fiedler, Arnold Toynbee and Nat Hentoff, Nelson Algren and Rolf Hochhuth, Bernard Fall and Rex Stout. (Cont'd)*

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That takes care of you. Now, if somebody is properly imbued with the mood of the season, they might spring for a sub for Teddy Kennedy. He's in the Washington white pages.

*(CONTINUED) In the January issue, for instance, Rex Stout studies the evidence of the Rosenberg case and brands them "The Spies That Weren't"; John Howard Griffin tells how he went blind; the editors succumb to eight pages of unabashed nostalgia over Humphrey Bogart; a great Russian film director reminisces about Ernest Hemingway in Spain; a Jew discusses "The Chanukah Hangup"; Maxwell Geismar gets downright angry over what W. H. Swanberg did to Dreiser; a monk tells about games monks play, and [CONTINUED NEXT MONTH].

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Under Our Feet

★ The trees are bare in that placid park across from the White House – Lafayette Park, the one with Andy Jackson immemorially prancing on his rearing horse, something very quaint and charming about the figure. Whether the squirrels hibernate here I don't know, but I doubt it; there are arrant moochers, always out with a Mister-can-you-spare-a-dime? attitude that has reached a fine competitive boldness (I once saw a White House squirrel pursue a sobbing 3-year-old to her nurse's arms).

The other night as I hurried across for my bus, one white old fellow was there with the others, probably addled with age and rheumatism, and before I knew it the old fool had got under my foot and I had stepped on him. I could feel my boot crunch the furry flesh and small bones. He crawled away and managed to get up a tree.

Why did I almost weep with vexation? It was not my fault; he was just there where he shouldn't have been. Just a squirrel, I kept telling myself.

I have been reading British journalist James Cameron's vivid pieces about North Vietnam in the *NY Times;* the "mirror image" as he found it of the US, applying all the epithets to *us* which we apply to *them.* Doubtless one must read his pieces with reserve, yet it sounded like a courteous place, even beleaguered, with grown men who look like boys, pretty women – polite, small-boned, mannerly people, normally unwarlike. By day an eerie emptiness, by night a rush of activity, always searching the sky for the bombs that have united them. The peasant is well off if he owns a blanket, a mat and a mosquito net; he doesn't realize that all we want is to cherish him; to aid his bright, small nation. Somehow, though, they have got in our way, and we are committed to a contest of beastliness. What else can we do? They have got themselves under our feet.

We got to thinking about Mr. Pickwick the other day as we watched Chairman Wright Patman (D, Tex.) interrogate five members of the Fed, lined up before him in the marmoreal vastness of the Senate caucus room. Mr. Patman's round, mild face is normally suffused with ineffable Pickwickian benevolence even when pursuing a favorite prey – the Federal Reserve Board.

Every now and then the doors of the great hearing room would open and some Christmas caroling from the rotunda down below would waft abruptly into the room, like cotton tinsel with angels on it, shutting off suddenly when the door closed. Amiable Mr. Pickwick was doing his best to present Fed Chairman Martin as a sort of Ebenezer Scrooge. The Fed voted four to three to raise the cost of hiring money, thereby threatening to brake the US economy just when a million or more jobless – many of them young and/or Negroes – had some hope of employment. Martin is no Scrooge, of course, he is a sincere, moralistic Puritan. But it does seem odd that he couldn't wait just a month, as Mr. Johnson wanted, till the new budget was ready. The so-called independence of the Board is largely make-believe, we think; it hasn't been challenged because it hasn't often been used. Now it has been used, which probably means the end of it before long.

Off Our Chest

★ We want to love everyone this yuletide, but there are two or three things we have to get off our chest. First, there is a big new effort by private utilities to raid the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission. Such attempts have been made and failed since 1947, and the New York power blackout will probably kill this one. A bill passed the Senate in the past session to exempt electric cooperatives from federal regulation. Fine! said the big utilities with a wink; we will amend it in the House to exempt most of us, too. A composite bill is in fact being readied now for that purpose.

An FPC analysis of the bill, according to *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* man Dick Dudman, says that it "would cripple the work of the Commission." It would exempt about 60 of the 180 largest investor-owned utilities. Now if there is one thing the New York blackout showed it is the need for more regulation, not less. This holds true for engineering as well as rates. It seems unthinkable that the federal policeman will be taken off the beat just after the blackout accident.

Still Floundering

★ It is not worthwhile to pay much attention to the second matter, the failure of the GOP 28-man Coordinating Committee to condemn the John Birch Society here last week. The power in the Committee lies in the Conservative-packed Dirksen congressional group, not in the GOP governors, who are relatively liberal. Let's just say that after 16 months the poor old GOP is still floundering. It did denounce the Administration, however, on foreign affairs: policy too weak, it seems.

Thirdly, we think draft director Gen. Hershey guilty of utter folly in countenancing the punishment of young Vietnam demonstrators by reclassifying them into immediate service. Mr. Johnson really ought to stop this quick. As we see it, the great mass of young students, college and otherwise, are uneasy over Vietnam, but going along with it. Making the draft boards a weapon for punishment, however, strikes at the freedom of all youth together. Like bombs in Vietnam, it unites everybody. We have seen emotions slowly heating up in this war, but they have not got out of hand. Not yet, anyway. The draft board patrioteers strike us as hysterical.

Well, well, there is good news, too, as the old year ends. Think about the trumpeter swans. Fewer than 100 of them in the early 1930's and now look, nearly 1,000. And the whooping cranes! Nearly 40. Then, by elevating our gaze a bit, we see four brave men, traveling 185 miles above the earth, at 17,500 miles an hour. They have been having a nice quiet time up there together, nose cone to nose cone. When you are traveling like that the earth goes whizzing by, but if you look at your friend you are stationary. Like a happy marriage, isn't it? "I can see your lips moving," Lovell observed. "I'm chewing gum," said Schirra. We'll end on that.

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LBJ's Visitors

President Johnson doesn't yet seem to have put his mind to any specific foreign problem, except possibly Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. But 1966 is going to have to be a year of foreign-policy making. Mainland China may get into the United Nations at last. Africa again seems headed for rough seas. A time for decision looms for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. So Mr. Johnson's Christmas-season foreign visitors were timely, even though they brought problems, not presents.

The original three wise men all came from the East, but the visits to the White House by the President of Pakistan, the Prime Minister of Britain and the Chancellor of West Germany signify that this country's responsibilities are East-West and worldwide, and provided a much-needed opportunity to take a fresh look at those worldwide burdens. Divide the world map in three, each area corresponding to a current concern of at least one of the President's three distinguished guests, and it looks something like this:

► *Europe.* Secretary of State Rusk, who these days distressingly goes from poor to worse, told the NATO Council in Paris last week that the fate and future of NATO is linked with the war in Vietnam because the latter is a test of the credibility of an American commitment; should we fail to win there, nobody will any longer believe we are really committed to Europe's defense. This is balderdash. The American commitment in Vietnam was to advise a government in Saigon how it might best attract popular support and so win a civil war, and to supply military assistance. These promises were fully kept, though the advice was seldom taken. The deeper we thrust ourselves down into the Vietnamese mud, however, the more concerned the Europeans become about our commitment to them: just the opposite, in fact, of what Rusk said. Heavy reiteration of American determination to fight Communism in Europe as well as Asia does not impress the Europeans, who are no longer much afraid of being attacked by Russia. What most of them, including Chancellor Erhard, hope for is an East-West detente, the keys to which might be a non-aggression treaty between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries and a treaty against the spread of nuclear weapons. The Russians too want a detente and though they add that German reunification is something for East and West Germany to discuss, that need not be a stumbling block, since the two Germanys already talk and trade with each other. The West Germans, if they were given a choice, probably

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would prefer reunification to getting their fingers on a Western nuclear trigger.

► *Asia.* Washington officials say mockingly that if the Russians think they can persuade India and Pakistan to make up over Kashmir, good luck to them. The Russians apparently intend to try, and have invited President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri to meet under Soviet auspices in Soviet Tashkent next month, which is a boost for Moscow's prestige in Asia. What a pity it wasn't this country that made the effort, instead of Mr. Johnson curtly telling both Ayub Khan and Shastri not to bother coming to Washington, earlier this year, then cutting off aid to both, finally letting both come here after all (Shastri is coming in February, after the Tashkent meeting). The US seems to have no solution to suggest for Kashmir, but Ayub Khan has again been reminded by Mr. Johnson that this country disapproves Pakistan's current friendship with China. Ayub might have replied by quoting what the Shah of Iran said just the other day about Iran's determination to have friendly cooperation with Russia. "If we can achieve some degree of stability in this area," said the Shah, "then why not?" If this country had a farsighted Asian policy instead of hand-to-mouth anti-Communism, it would try to promote understanding between India and Pakistan, and between India and China, even if this had to be accompanied by some such commitments to both India and Pakistan as are discussed in an article on page 9 of this issue.

► *Africa.* The point about Rhodesia is not that the Smith government declared Rhodesia independent (independence was already promised) but that it has imposed white-minority rule on a black majority in a way that makes it impossible for other governments in Africa to let Smith get away with it. Western nations must topple Smith, for if the Africans have to do the job themselves (and then probably with Russian arms) the consequences are bound to be a bitter race war in the heart of Africa and African estrangement thereafter from Western countries which, as they will see it, were willing to move against black rebels in the Congo (twice: in 1960 and again in 1964) but which make specious excuses for not downing Smith's illegal white government. We shall be in a vicious spiral if African states attack Rhodesia and some of our anti-Communism crusaders then allege they are under "Red influence." The way out is for this country and Britain to take the initiative and deny Smith oil and trade until he desists. If that doesn't work, armed force will have to be used, by Britain or by the UN. Even without it, upsetting Smith will be expensive, for Rhodesia's neighbor Zambia has to be kept supplied after the lifelines which sustain both Rhodesia and Zambia have been cut. But leaving Smith in power risks wrecking the credibility of white goodwill toward all nonwhites. It is, in the current jargon, an "unacceptable risk."

Making Spectacles

Making eyeglasses is a $155-million-a-year business. And it increasingly looks like becoming a monopoly run by doctors who are jacking up the prices of frequently shoddy goods. This is the gist of evidence taken before Senator Philip A. Hart's antitrust and monopoly subcommittee. Senator Hart, who last year studied the pros and cons of doctors owning their own pharmacies, recently looked into the problems posed when ophthalmologists (doctors who treat eye diseases) dispense the spectacles they prescribe. Until 1951 the common practice was for these doctors to send along this business to independent opticians, people who make glasses, and the opticians gave a rebate to the doctors. In an effort to bring down prices of glasses, the Justice Department outlawed rebates. However, the prices did not go down, and to accommodate the increasing number of eye doctors starting up their own spectacle-making concerns, the American Medical Association changed its code of ethics, permitting them to sell glasses. Currently about 40 percent of the 6,200 ophthalmologists dispense glasses. A survey in Los Angeles showed that doctors charged about $15 a pair more for glasses than did opticians.

In general, the opticians complain that patients straggle into their shops with poorly ground lens in glasses just purchased from a doctor's dispensing company, and the whole job has to be done over. Often a doctor balks at giving a patient a prescription, or if he does give him one it's on the letterhead of the doctor's company. A common experience is for the doctor to examine the patient's eyes, then take the patient by the arm and lead him across the hall to the doctor's optician, who is told what glasses to make.

There are 18,000 opticians in the country, and in the past few years they have been going out of business in growing numbers. Mr. Everett Olney, president of an opticians' association in Houston, Texas, said his business has dropped off by 55 percent since 1959. Mr. Hart heard this sort of complaint in a number of instances. Of the 51 ophthalmologists in the Houston area, 41 sell glasses, Mr. Olney said. Many operate their dispensing services under names of companies which advertise their spectacles in the yellow pages of the phone book. This is unethical, according to Mr. Olney, because doctors are not supposed to advertise. One doctor reportedly came across the street to see an optician and pointedly asked the proprietor of the shop to pay him $500 a month because he was filling the doctor's prescriptions. When the optician refused, the doctor started his own dispensing service.

Wholesalers seem eager to work with doctors. In Houston, a wholesale firm set up a direct line between its plant and the doctor's office to facilitate business.

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Thomas P. Lynch, president of Winchester Optical Company of Elmira, New York, a wholesaler, said 35 percent of his business is done directly with doctors. This part of the operation has increased by 15 percent in the last three or four years. Winchester Optical arranges to lease out its own opticians to work in doctors' offices to help get them started in business.

For their part, doctors who dispense eyeglasses said the opticians are unnecessarily sour. In the larger cities the opticians have not followed the people out into the suburbs, and in these areas doctors are only supplying the patients, particularly those who are elderly and infirm, with a service they urgently demand. In small communities, people would be put to a great deal of trouble to get glasses if doctors did not sell them, since there were no opticians around.

None of this has convinced the Senator, who has introduced legislation to prevent doctors from profiting from any product they prescribe.

Draft Scandal

The reclassifying of student peace demonstrators by several Michigan draft boards has turned out to be more than an act of local vengeance. A board in Washington, D. C., has issued a notice of delinquency to a 23-year-old participant in the October 15 sit-in at the Ann Arbor local board. ("Delinquents" are the first in line to be drafted under Selective Service priorities.) And Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, National Selective Service Director, has blessed the flurry of reclassifications.

The draft was never intended as a form of punishment, certainly not as a club to be used against political dissent. And the US is not, we need reminding, in a state of declared war. The Ann Arbor demonstrators were arrested, convicted of trespassing, fined. That's where matters should have rested but did not. The state Selective Service director consulted with General Hershey, then called in the draft board files of the male dissenters. He subsequently notified the appropriate boards that the students could be drafted as delinquents under section 12A of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which bears not at all on persons convicted of trespassing. This clause provides for fines and prison terms for those convicted of disrupting the administration of the draft law. "Violators" are usually prosecuted only after all attempts to induct them have failed. The law is invoked principally to deal with so-called draft dodgers who fail to report for a physical or otherwise refuse to cooperate with their local boards.

"Reclassification is quicker at stopping sit-ins than some indictment that takes effect six months later," General Hershey told *The Washington Post* last week, "and we haven't heard of any sit-ins since the one in Ann Arbor."

"Good" and "Bad" Subsidies

The federal government has just contracted to pay about $47 million of research, development and fuel costs preliminary to construction of a power plant of advanced nuclear design. The plant itself will be built, owned and operated by the privately-owned Public Service Company of Colorado, at an estimated cost to the company of $45.8 million. The company and the Atomic Energy Commission, the responsible federal agency, call this a "cooperative arrangement."

The AEC will pay General Dynamics Corporation of San Diego $40,863,000 for the preliminary design and research development, and will also waive fuel-use charges estimated at $6,443,000. General Dynamics will prepare the fuel, a mixture of thorium and uranium. Fuel and fuel service will thereupon be provided to the Colorado utility for eight years, at a cost of 1.6 mills per kilowatt hour produced. The new facility, to go into service north of Denver by 1971, will generate 330,000 kilowatts. Public Service Company of Colorado already has two large conventional projects under construction.

The private company, which will get the direct benefit of this 51 percent subsidy from federal taxes, is headed by Robert L. Person, who doubles as president of the Edison Electric Institute. Last August, Mr. Person attacked the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association (NRECA) for advocating continued low-cost federal loans (at two percent) to extend and strengthen the facilities of NRECA members. He said then: "NRECA recommends methods which would continue to burden the nation's taxpayers by relying on governmental subsidies to support unnecessary generating and transmitting facilities."

Representatives of public and cooperative power groups, meeting in Denver as Midwest Electric Consumers' Association, gleefully noted Person's assumption of two hats. They asked if President Person of Colorado Public Service Co. intends to pay back to the federal government the subsidy of the type denounced by President Person of the Edison Electric Institute; or if not, whether the subsidy is to be reflected in lower rates to Public Service Co. customers? They also contrasted the company's decision to build an atomic plant, in the midst of rich Colorado coal fields, with its stubborn opposition to a federal loan to Colorado-Ute Electric Association which is building a steam-electric plant using Colorado coal to supply cooperatives and public-power cities.

This subsidy to the Public Service Company may be a "good" one. But would it have been a "bad" one, had the government instead made the arrangement with its own TVA, or with a public-power city such as Seattle or with a group of REA's?

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Our Ex-Congressmen

Seven former United States Senators and Representatives this year registered for the first time as lobbyists, most of them for groups over which they had jurisdiction in Congress.

Former Representative Clifford Davis, who represented a Tennessee constituency for 25 years in the House, now represents the Louisville Gas and Electric and the Shawnee Coal Company. Davis had been a member of the House Public Works Committee, which authorizes hydroelectric power projects. George M. Grant (D, Ala. 1938-65), who served on the House Agriculture Committee and was chairman of its Forests Subcommittee, now serves the National Forest Products Association and is a sugar lobbyist for the government of Thailand. Donald C. Bruce, an Indiana Republican who sat in the House from 1961 to 1965, registered this year for the American Conservative Union, at a salary of $25,000. Former Senator J. J. Hickey, Democrat from Wyoming and member of the Interior Committee, now hopes to make members of that committee well-disposed to the Union Pacific Railroad. Albert Rains (D, Ala. 1945-65) sat on the House Banking and Currency Committee, now represents a firm interested in banking legislation. Another Alabamian, Kenneth A. Roberts, was third-ranking Democrat on the House Commerce Committee, and is now employed by the Animal Health Association and the American Optometric Association. Michigan Republican Victor A. Knox earned $2,000 a month this year lobbying on Medicare for the College of American Pathologists and also spoke for the Committee for Automobile Excise Tax Repeal. Both matters were handled by the House Ways and Means Committee, on which Knox had sat.

These seven – all first-time registrants – are among the more than 100 former congressmen who have registered since the enactment of the 1946 Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act.

Unrepresented Negro Farmers in the South

The Department of Agriculture's Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service plays a major role in the South's farm economy. ASCS county and community committees, which like school boards are elected, allot the acreages under the farm program for cotton, tobacco and peanuts, the crops that occupy 92 percent of Negro farmers. Yet in 1964 not one Negro was on a state ASCS committee and only a handful were on the elected committees, and though more Negroes got on to county and community committees in the ASCS elections which Alabama and Mississippi held this year, in mid-November and early December respectively, allegations of fraud were immediately put on the record by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Freedom Democratic Party (FDP).

Take the case of Alabama's Wilcox County, 78 percent Negro. All 120 votes were counted for the same three white men, none for two Negroes or two other whites. A SNCC report says, "Since many Negroes active in the movement in Wilcox are known to have voted in the election, it is clear that irregularities did occur."

It took a complaint to the state ASCS to gain entry to the counting room for four Negroes in Alabama's Greene County (82 percent Negro). But, to quote SNCC, "All Negro witnesses were made to sit against the wall apart from the counting and were therefore unable to see the actual proceedings." Representative Joe Resnik (D, N.Y.), who visited three Mississippi counties in the days immediately preceding the deadline for voting (December 3), called intimidation "massive."

Mrs. Supora Chandler of Route 1, Pheba, has her farm in Clay County. Mrs. Chandler agreed to run for the community committee and, the middle of the night of December 3, received a visit from five white men who warned her "not to serve" if elected. Mrs. Chandler couldn't be intimidated. But in Issaquena County, its Freedom Democratic Party reported "not too many people voted, because they were afraid." In Issaquena County, Representative Resnik found that insurance of Negroes active in the ASCS elections had been canceled, loans were denied to Negroes on all crops but cotton, and ballots were not mailed to Negro wives who were co-owners of land.

A year ago the Department of Agriculture undertook to correct the flagrant pattern of discrimination set up by the white power structure in the Department's huge federal establishment in the South. ASCS proudly presented a new set of rules providing for: nomination by petition, listing (as candidates) of members of the minority race by the county committee in accordance with their percentage of eligible farmers, and watchers when the ballots (all must be mailed to the county ASCS office) are opened and counted.

FDP thereupon undertook a massive campaign in 20 counties in Mississippi and SNCC zeroed in on four Alabama counties, all with heavy Negro populations. But from the start it was obvious ASCS would not make a serious effort to prevent intimidation and fraud. "All they ever say is 'send us an affidavit'," said an FDP worker in the Jackson, Miss., office.

SNCC asked for five additional safeguards in Alabama; two were accepted. One called for sending federal representatives to each county to observe the counting of the ballots. Four days after the voting, SNCC reported that, in three of the four counties, "the

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person most hostile" to the presence of Negro observers was "the state ASCS representative," and "the representative in Wilcox County told the county committeeman, in the presence of a SNCC worker, that he had been sent down to give the committee moral support, making it clear that complaints of irregularities in the elections would not be acted on."

Everywhere there were problems with voting lists. Negroes in Mississippi couldn't get the proper papers from white landowners to prove they were eligible. (Those eligible for election include tenants and sharecroppers.) Gin mill receipts were not accepted.

SNCC's charges of fraud were filed quickly. But on December 7, I was informed by the Agriculture Department's Inspector General's office that the regional office in Atlanta probably wouldn't get an investigation started until January, and it would then take 60 days to look into the charges. It will be spring by the time they can be evaluated and effective control during the planting season will once more be lost to Negroes in many counties.

A new progress report by the Department of Agriculture on its efforts to desegregate its Southern machinery will be made available in January. Some of the figures will look impressive on the surface. For instance, ASCS hiring policies caused a splash when on June 25 a high of 4,030 temporary and permanent employees were on the rolls in 15 Southern states, most of them "temporary" compliance workers working out of county ASCS offices. But by October 15 it was down to 417 in the same states, and only 14 Negroes had been hired on a "permanent full-time basis." The total number of permanent employees runs into the thousands in these same states.

A Negro was named to the Farm Home Administration board in 361 counties in which Negroes number at least 20 percent of the population. Nevertheless, Mississippi Negroes continue to complain that FHA refuses to approve loans for Negroes for crops other than cotton.

This is interesting inasmuch as the Department has been encouraging crop diversity in the South for years. However, it appears that grain, soybeans and livestock are for white men in at least some areas of the Deep South, and the appointment of Negroes to county FHA boards hasn't given Negro farmers what they really need – loans to diversify.

The report will also tell of progress in integrating county extension offices. Some weeks ago, the figure reached 182 of 424 such offices in the South. But the Negro county extension agent in each case became the assistant to the white agent when the offices were integrated, despite admission by officials in Washington that Negro agents are often better trained because of the high quality of Negro agricultural schools in the South.

PAUL WIECK

What about a Nuclear Guarantee for India?

President Johnson wants Pakistan President Ayub Khan, who visited the White House last week, and Indian Prime Minister Shastri, who will visit in February, to cooperate with him to contain China instead of fighting each other over Kashmir. Shastri is being urged at home to build an atom bomb to deter China, but this would widen the breach with Pakistan. Nuclear guarantees to New Delhi have been proposed as a way of establishing an Asian power that could balance China without causing India to develop its own nuclear weapons. The argument is that a US commitment to defend India, without a formal military alliance, would meet the common Russian and American interest in having an Asian rival to Peking and would assure a neutral India of security against atomic attack.

Andrew Martin and Wayland Young, in a recent discussion of nuclear guarantees in the British journal *Disarmament and Arms Control*, question the validity of this idea. They point out that the last three countries to develop independent national deterrents – Britain, France and China – were all protected by a nuclear superpower when their decision to produce atomic weapons was made; in this sense, a nuclear guarantee of India would not necessarily prevent diffusion and might even encourage it. Martin and Young also believe that such nuclear guarantees are not truly credible.

The question inevitably arises: in exactly what circumstances would the US use nuclear retaliation to protect India from Chinese aggression? Obviously, a Chinese nuclear attack would be the clearest case, but Peking has already asserted that it will not initiate the use of atomic weapons, and the border war of 1962 suggested that Chinese conventional forces might be sufficient to defeat India. It is highly unlikely that we would risk all-out war by bombing China in response to Communist subversion; that is, indirect aggression.

These arguments against extending a nuclear guarantee to India seem persuasive. They force one to consider alternative means of checking China, for it is commonly assumed in Washington that the US must, for the indefinite future, play the role of containing Peking. Indeed, some Administration experts have talked of an American presence in Asia for at least the next 50 years. Given domestic opposition to such a policy on both the left and right, not to mention the risks that miscalculation could lead to a disastrous nuclear war with Russia, perhaps it is time to reconsider our assumption that nuclear diffusion is, in every case, a threat to world peace.

Few Americans have understood that the spread of

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nuclear weapons to powers of the second rank is virtually inevitable over the next 25 years (unless the nuclear powers bomb any state that tests or acquires atomic warheads). As Martin and Young point out, "proliferation has reached a stage where India could achieve a first fission test within 18 months from the decision being taken; Canada within two years; West Germany within three years; Israel, Sweden, Italy and Japan within five years; and Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Spain, Australia, South Africa, Pakistan, and possibly Indonesia and the United Arab Republic within 10."

The real question, then, is not whether proliferation can be prevented, but whether it can be channeled into stabilizing forms. Moreover, the real danger of new nuclear powers does not arise from their presumed haste to start an atomic war. As the example of China indicates, the possession of a few nuclear warheads will probably be most significant as a deterrent to intervention by a major power in local conventional or guerrilla wars; Peking could hope to deter American assistance to India by threatening to trigger a Russo-American nuclear exchange, thereby leaving the field open to a possibly successful limited war.

The currently accepted argument against the spread of atomic weapons ignores the distinction between the strategic capabilities of the superpowers and those of new members of the nuclear club. When the qualitative and quantitative differences between the Russian or American deterrents and those likely to be produced by China and India are considered, the case for encouraging – or at least tacitly accepting – the emergence of India as a nuclear power becomes much stronger.

It is in the interest of the superpowers, it seems to me, that a potentially aggressive nuclear power of secondary rank, such as China, be counterbalanced by rivals of similar strength. The Russians appear to perceive this and have unleashed a "Hate America" campaign in India, attempting to show that Washington will not stand behind New Delhi; Moscow has managed to pose as a mediator between India and Pakistan without discontinuing its military assistance to India. In the long run, American unwillingness to support Indian military forces equal to those of China will deprive us of the one asset that is necessary in Asia, namely a neutral India capable of checking Peking without the direct intervention of either the Soviet Union or the US.

It is of course true that not all forms of nuclear proliferation would increase stability; the establishment of non-nuclear zones in Africa and Latin America, and an international agreement not to give or sell atomic warheads could be in the self-interest of all powers concerned and should be achieved if possible. But where a secondary power can increase its own security and deter a potentially dangerous local rival armed with crude nuclear weapons, diffusion may increase the chances for peace.

Because the two superpowers deter each other from intervening with nuclear weapons in local conflicts, as long as India is a non-nuclear power an American threat to attack China can never seem wholly convincing; even if the USSR did not retaliate on the continental US, the Russians could "save face" after an American attack on China by seizing West Berlin with conventional weapons. Once India has a few atomic warheads, on the other hand, nuclear deterrence between China and India would limit conflicts between them, and we could guarantee to defend New Delhi against any coalition of two or more powers (so that any combined Russo-Chinese or Pakistani-Chinese attack on India would be unprofitable).

It will be objected that the rise of India to the status of a nuclear power will tempt Pakistan to develop its own atomic force. Our support for a strong India need not prevent the most vigorous efforts to secure a settlement in Kashmir – indeed, this is precisely the Russian position. In the best case, it may be possible to reactivate the scheme of an Indo-Pakistani defensive alliance that Nehru apparently was considering just before his death.

Americans have chosen to ignore the fact that Pakistan, although formally allied with the West, tacitly sided with China in using violence to alter an unsatisfactory status quo in Kashmir; it is as if Bonn instigated subversion and then open war in order to terminate the division of Germany. Pakistan, ruled by an anti-Communist military regime, nevertheless has little interest in becoming a Chinese satellite, and independent Pakistani nuclear forces would be of far less credibility and value than a Pakistani alliance with New Delhi, making the Indian subcontinent an important factor in world politics. Even short of such an alliance, an American guarantee to defend both India and Pakistan against any attack by a coalition of two or more enemies would permit the major Asian powers to deter each other while precluding the advantage of aggressive alliances between them.

Such guarantees are reasonably convincing since joint attacks by two powers, unlike indirect subversion, are relatively clear. If China and Pakistan were to combine in an attack against India, Moscow could tolerate American retaliation because Peking would clearly be acting in terms of her national interests, without reference to ideology. Should worse come to worst and Pakistan ally itself with China, we could consecrate the Sino-Soviet split by forcing Peking to expose her claims as a purely revolutionary power for what they are: a propagandistic justification for expanding China's national and imperialistic interests. ROGER D. MASTERS

MR. MASTERS *teaches political science at Yale.*

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Merry Bang-Bang (and Happy New Year)

The Lionel Toy Corporation, makers of model electric trains, was pounced upon in these pages two years ago for manufacturing war toys. Lionel's policy has changed; its entire line of nine ballistic-missile-firing railroad cars has been discontinued. The 1965 Lionel catalogue brags that "our toys don't go 'bang-bang, screech-screech or rat-a-tat-tat'." Creative Playthings, Inc., criticized here last year for its war game called "Diplomacy," now no longer handles the game. The Brr Products Company, a New Jersey toy manufacturer, this year declares: "We shall not manufacture toys which develop the urge to violence. We believe there is sufficient evidence to establish a correlation between the degree of violence aroused in children and the kind of playthings they are offered."

The Christmas spirit has not quite spanned the continent, however. Replicas of counterinsurgency weapons are replacing the strategic nuclear weapons of last year and the year before.

Louis Marx & Co. of Erie, Pa., one of the largest manufacturers in the field, recently established a whole new products department called the "Monkey Division" expressly to create "jungle guerrilla warfare" items. These products range from a three-foot-long, olive-drab "Missile Bazooka," which sells for only 50 cents, to a "Gung Ho Commando Outfit" for $9.99 complete with 18 combat items, including a hand grenade which really explodes, and a life-sized, battery-operated, tripod-mounted, heavy-calibre machine gun with flashing barrel and recoiling muzzle which fires wooden bullets and sounds like the Real Thing. A cheaper Marx "guerrilla set" includes only the essentials – helmet, two grenades and a camouflage-colored, 19-inch automatic rifle which produces a deafening, three-second burst of bangs.

Marx & Co. is facing stiff competition in the tommy-gun department, for American toy counters this year have become a veritable cornucopia of automatic weapons. More noise for less money is available from Mattel, Inc., a California manufacturer, whose "Guerrilla Gun" is about six inches longer than the Marx gun and considerably louder. When fired, the barrel of the Mattel gun smokes.

A 23-inch automatic weapon imported from Japan, the Tada "kick-action machine gun," gives a realistic kick when fired. Remco Industries, a New Jersey manufacturer, makes a 29-inch "Screaming Mee-Mee" gun for $3.66 which fires harmless plastic bullets and a twirling red rocket which howls "Mee-Mee" as it flies through the air. An authentic-looking replica of a .50 calibre military machine gun, "Defender Dan," which the DeLuxe Reading Corp. sells for $11.99, actually takes belt-fed ammunition and shoots plastic bullets and ejects shells.

The biggest of the lot is Mattel's "Sonic Blaster," $10.99, a four-pound, 35-inch bazooka-like "jungle weapon" of black plastic which makes a wham loud enough to collapse specially provided targets up to 40 feet away.

The war in Vietnam also seems to have wrought a change in the taste for heavy ordnance. Gone are the giant plastic aircraft carriers and "atomic" tanks of a year ago. In their place have come all manner of helicopters. Some really fly. Others merely make a racket, spout flame, disgorge troops or perch on their pedestals.

Most spectacular of the current toy helicopters is "Marx-A-Copter" which sells for $12.95. This chopper actually flies and hovers and, by remote control, can be made to bomb and blow up (by spring action) an enemy submarine, rescue a wounded man, drop secret messages by parachute, recover a satellite nose cone and comes equipped with its own sound-effects record. Equally versatile is Remco's "Motorized Whirlybird" for $6.99 which measures 25 inches and taxis ponderously forward on wheels, gently swings its rotor, and automatically hoists and lowers its cargo which consists of a jeep, a truck, a cannon and a "25-man attack force."

Children who require less action but more realism in their choppers may take a shine to the scale models of the Aurora Plastics Company of West Hempstead, New York. These include 10-to-14-inch models of the Army's tandem-roted H-21 "Work Horse," the Navy's Kaman "Egg Beater," the Hiller "Hornet" ramjet helicopter, the Sikorsky S-55 "Windmill" and the Piasecki H-25A "Army Mule" – all in authentic battle dress and capable of reenacting the war in Vietnam.

Just as American toy makers are struggling to keep pace with the headlines, most European manufacturers seem determined to put them out of mind. The German toy maker, Elastolin, has come out this year with exquisitely detailed sets of Roman soldiers fitted with javelins, broadswords and scaling ladders. Elastolin also makes sets of medieval warriors wielding lances and maces, as well as a catapult ($2.50), suitable for hurling pitch, and an artfully constructed siege tower ($12.95), capable of laying waste the most resilient playroom fortifications.

Mignon, the French manufacturer, specializes in realistic knights in armor ($7.95), and apparently does not deign to make any soldier more contemporary than a 17th Century musketeer. Swoppets, the British firm, offers a "Wars of the Roses" set ($7), consisting of nine plastic knights and archers for reenacting the

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Battle of Bosworth. Britains Limited, the London manufacturer, has a line of authentic hand-painted metal soldiers ranging from camel-mounted Arab cavalrymen to colorful and dashing hussars, Cossacks and cuirassiers. With an eye to possible breakage, Britains Ltd. also makes a set of 13 infantrymen who possess, says the carton, "interchangeable heads and bodies."

American manufacturers are not only more up-to-date, by comparison with their European counterparts, but also are looking to the future. For example, the Nuclear War Game Co., of Downey, California, is now marketing a game called "Nuclear War" ($3) in which from two to six players arrange themselves in a circle and "attempt to gain world dominion" by playing cards representing 10-, 20-, and 50-megaton bombs. These cards must be matched with other cards representing appropriate delivery vehicles, such as the B-70 bomber, and Atlas, Saturn or Polaris missiles. The victim of an attack, if he is lucky, may be able to defend himself by playing a few antimissile cards, but the advantage is clearly with the aggressor. The players are provided with a cardboard spinner which is twirled after each attack, and may enliven the game with such directions as: "Lethal doses of radioactive gamma rays kill another 10 million." Players are also counseled: "If the 100-megaton bomb explodes a nuclear stockpile, a super chain reaction starts which destroys all countries, the earth itself and the entire solar system . . . everybody lost."

WILLIAM H. HONAN

THE '66 BUDGET

War Takes Precedence over the Great Society

by George L. Perry

The war in Vietnam will dominate the economic scene in 1966, as the tax cut dominated it this year and last. The budget for this fiscal year, which ends with June 1966, was recently revised upward $5 billion to $7 billion from the original January estimate of $99.7 billion. Increases came mainly from additional defense spending, not from Great Society programs. For fiscal 1967, rising defense outlays alone are likely to boost the budget several billion dollars higher.

The Administration's reactions thus far have been remarkably calm and sound, even compared with the early Kennedy Administration just four years ago. In the fall of 1961, a defense buildup triggered by the Berlin wall had the Administration on the brink of asking for tax increases – at a time when the unemployment rate was over 6 percent, and prospects for achieving the stated 4 percent target in the foreseeable future were negligible. Only determined resistance by Walter Heller's Council of Economic Advisers prevented a tax increase on that occasion. Early this fall, unemployment was already below 4.5 percent and a larger military buildup was in store; yet Gardner Ackley's Council and other Administration officials quickly declared that the economic outlook as of then did not call for tax increases to pay for the war. However, by the time the new budget is presented to Congress in January, developments now unfolding could alter the Administration's stand on tax increases.

To assess what the war will mean to the economy and what decisions will confront Administration planners, we must see first how the overall economic outlook shapes up in view of the prospective defense budget and the indicated strength of private demands for next year. This is not easy. Firm estimates on the budget cost of Vietnam do not exist outside official circles and probably not inside the government either. Not long ago, an increase in total federal purchases of some $5 billion was the standard forecast; but the revised estimates for the fiscal 1966 budget suggest this may be too low. Assume that federal purchases will rise by $7 billion next year, including a $6 billion increase in defense spending; that business investment will rise by as much as in 1965; and that automobile sales and homebuilding will stay around this year's levels. Then we have what I think will be the median forecast made in the next month or two, showing another year of strong advances, with the gain in real output matching the 5 percent rise we are getting this year, and unemployment falling throughout the year, going below 4 percent for all of 1966 and reaching

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a level of 3.5 percent by the end of next year.

The government's fiscal activities affect this outlook through many channels other than the increase in federal purchases. In 1966 excise taxes will fall further as the second stage of this year's tax bill takes effect. Social Security taxes will increase, both on employers and employees. Medicare payments start in the second half of the year. But the net effect of these changes on incomes and output will be negative and small whereas the impact of the assumed $6 billion rise in defense expenditures will be positive and large, adding perhaps $15 billion to next year's GNP and in the process creating over a million jobs in the private economy. Without the defense increases, the growth in output expected for 1966 would not absorb the growth in the labor force. The government today would be readying expansionary measures in the form of tax reduction and expanded civilian spending to keep the economy growing fast enough. Now the rise in defense purchases will fuel our sixth year of continued expansion and third straight year of extraordinary gains in output and employment. Are such gains excessive? Do they call for a cut in civilian programs, tighter money, increased taxes?

Foremost among those who worry that the economy is going too far, too fast, is the Federal Reserve. The Fed has been raising interest rates since summer, with the recent hike in the discount rate the latest. The past five months mark the third period since mid-1963 that short-term interest rates have been pushed higher; and, of much greater importance, this time long-term rates have moved up substantially in pace and now stand at historically high levels despite the strong pressure against tighter money coming from the Administration.

We are also certain to witness renewed congressional opposition to federal spending on civilian programs. Representative George Mahon, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, has already called for a slowdown in spending funds already appropriated, and a determined stand against approving any marginal new programs. Mahon generally supported Johnson's Great Society proposals in this year's session. Traditional opponents of federal spending will be all the more adamant in their resistance.

The case for monetary restraint, and for fiscal steps to offset part of the impact of rising defense purchases, must rest on concern about inflation and the balance of payments. The case against such measures must rest on a desire for further cuts in unemployment, and on the belief that inflation will be kept under control and the balance of payments handled adequately by methods that do not restrict the economy's expansion. There is good reason to think this can be done in 1966, despite the large gains in output and the lower unemployment rates projected here.

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Wage-Price Guideposts

It is true that typically as unemployment rates fall and the economy operates closer to its potential, upward pressures develop on wages and prices. But in assessing the inflationary threat for 1966, the more relevant experience is 1965, not 1955, for its lesson is that the terms on which we trade inflation for unemployment have improved. The most visible new ingredient is the Council's wage-price guideposts and the various specific ways in which pressure for conformity to the guideposts has been applied, but there are other differences with 1955 as well. Competition from foreign producers exerts a stronger discipline on US producers today than ten years ago, and also, the investment surge of the present expansion has been adding new and modernized capacity in pace with the expansion of output. The most recent McGraw-Hill survey shows that, despite the sharp output gains of the past year, average operating rates in manufacturing industries are actually down slightly, being an estimated 87 percent of capacity this fall, compared with 88 percent last December and with a preferred operating rate of 92 percent. By continuing the rapid buildup in capacity, the expected pace of business investment promises to hold operating rates around present levels in the face of the projected 5 percent gain in real output. Thus, inflation stemming from generalized pressures on capacity is not a threat for next year; and, looking at particular industries, the prospects for adequate capacity right down the line are equally good. The two major industries that reported operating rates above preferred levels are automobiles and nonferrous metals. Both, however, are in the midst of large investment programs that are rapidly adding to and modernizing their production facilities. In addition, automobile output is expected to rise only modestly, if at all, next year, and the government is relieving tight supply conditions in the critical nonferrous metals by putting portions of its huge stockpiles on the market.

The prospects for stable costs also look promising from the side of the labor market. We enter 1966 with the lowest unemployment rate in a decade, but also with an excellent record of price stability and wage moderation and with the government's concern over wage developments plainly established. What is more, 1966 will be a year unusually free of major collective bargaining agreements which might threaten a break from the moderate pace of wage increases. Most major industries have reached long-term agreements within the

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past year or two, including the important automobile, steel and aluminum settlements. While some of these stretched the wage guideposts, none were out of line with productivity gains in the individual industries involved and thus should not be exerting upward pressures on unit costs in the coming year. President Johnson's fight to keep this year's government pay increases within the guideposts emphasizes anew the Administration's determination on this score. Some threat exists of an upward wage drift through upgrading job specifications, but this has not been a major factor in postwar US experience. Finally, the lower unemployment rate of under 4 percent projected for next year may overstate the tightness of the labor market then. The projection assumes an increase in the armed forces of some 300,000 men next year, and also that more than 150,000 young workers will be holding jobs through Great Society manpower programs. Both groups would have above-average jobless rates in the private economy.

All these considerations suggest that next year, even with the stimulus of a $7 billion increase in total federal purchases, the economy will suffer only moderate price increases. Some step-up from the virtual price stability of the high unemployment years has got to be expected. But the increase in major price indexes like the Consumer Price Index and the GNP price deflator should be limited to about 2 percent and average wholesale prices should rise by a little less than this. Together with the projected 5 percent gain in real output, a 2 percent increase in the GNP deflator would mean a $720 billion GNP for 1966, 7 percent or $49 billion above this year's level.

Improving the Balance of Payments

If the threat of real inflation seems remarkably under control, however, there still remains the persistent and serious problem of the balance of payments. The continuing surge in direct investment abroad by US firms has thus far frustrated government efforts to end our payments imbalance. Some day an improved international monetary system, including machinery that permits more flexibility in currency exchange rates, may relieve the restraints that international finance today imposes on economic policy here and elsewhere. But substantial improvement in the present US payments position may well be a necessary precondition to successful negotiations.

The Administration is anything but indifferent to our balance of payments problem, but rather than resort to still tighter money and deflationary fiscal measures, it has chosen to contain capital outflows directly, and now will put increasing pressure on direct investment overseas. Much of big business, and many economists, are critical of this interference, but the Administration's way is working, and further improvement in the balance of payments can be expected next year as long as an outbreak of real inflation is avoided.

Yet the Vietnam war has already inflicted some wounds on the economy. Despite rising interest rates, business investment spending will apparently continue its sharp rise under the stimulus of past tax measures and growing markets; borrowing for homebuilding and for the needs of states and localities, however, is becoming increasingly difficult and costly, and the tax reductions that in early summer were in prospect, reportedly aimed at relief of lower income groups, have long since been put aside. Even without congressional pruning, some spending for the Great Society will be scaled down and stretched out for the duration.

It would be damaging if the Administration next year lost the delicate balance between rapid output gains and reasonable price stability that it has thus far achieved. But if both the rise in defense spending and the normal expansion of domestic programs can be accomplished with only modest price increases next year, there should be little need to restrain domestic programs. This is the great strength of our powerful and rapidly growing economy and we should not hesitate to rely on it.

In framing next year's economic plans we can and should push the unemployment rate down from present levels. The success thus far with price stability commands a rethinking of how far we can go, with an occasional brush back when some sector or other gets out of line, before inflation becomes a problem. It is trite though often apparently forgotten that, whatever manpower programs we devise, the next million men in today's hiring line won't find work until the unemployment rate is pushed down to around 3 percent. Labor market and manpower policies will help assure that this goal is achieved with a minimum of inflationary consequences. But demand must eventually create the jobs. Nobody can say yet whether a move to 3 percent unemployment is consistent with a tolerable rate of price increase. Next year offers a chance to test our ability by taking the necessary next step in that direction.

Forecasting is uncertain and the cost of next year's defense needs have only been guessed at here. It may be that they will use up all and more of the federal spending rise that we can risk without courting serious inflation. But what one should fear is that domestic programs will be cut as part of a grand gesture of prudence and national sacrifice, rather than after careful weighing of economic risks. In this case, as is too often true, the only sacrifice would be that of the unemployed who would not find jobs in next year's economy.

What if the cost of the defense buildup does turn out substantially larger than the $6 billion increase I have assumed? By January 1966 defense purchases could be projected $8 billion or $10 billion above this year's level. Indeed, Congressman Mahon spoke in terms of

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the latter figur . In this case, the threat of an overheated economy would be far greater and economic planning would properly move toward fiscal restraint. Being most vulnerable, Great Society programs could be cut down sharply in this environment. We would trade domestic social needs for the needs of the war.

But such a trade is not the only one available to us. If the size of the defense buildup demands it, the Administration should be prepared to raise taxes next year. A rise of $10 billion in defense purchases coupled with a $5 billion emergency tax increase would yield much the same forecast for the economy as I have described above. The most important public programs could even expand moderately. With private spending restrained by higher taxes, the expected rise in total output and employment would be no larger than before and not so large as to threaten serious inflation.

Finally, there is the possibility that defense needs will still be uncertain when budget plans and the main outlines of economic policy for the year are finally formed about mid-January. In this case, the 1966 forecast may be too uncertain to justify asking Congress for tax increases. Yet the risks of too much expansion may require an overly-cautious ceiling on civilian programs. Here the inherent uncertainty of next year's outlook could be met by a highly constructive kind of proposal from the Administration. This would be a request for standby authority to change tax rates if the situation turned out to require it. Such proposals have been advanced before as necessary tools of antirecession policy. If we are serious about running our economy at full employment, we should seek tax flexibility in both directions. And the maiden run on such a scheme may well be most acceptable to the Congress if it is made in an environment where the President might be asking for tax increases rather than reductions.

Such tax flexibility is long overdue. If available next year, when a request for it would be hard to deny, it should permit a much bolder and more constructive program. It would protect against marginal risks for next year, and give the Administration a much-needed tool of stabilization policy for the longer run.

Deeper into the Trap

A Christmas Message on Vietnam

by Edgar Snow

Geneva

Knowledgeable persons returning from China and Vietnam continue to bring evidence here that partial and seemingly precautionary mobilization in the People's Republic – becoming apparent even when I left Peking early this year – is now widespread.

Transport is increasingly occupied by military movements; persons and nonessential production are quietly moving out of the cities; industrial and technical dispersion proceeds; food imports are adding to China's reserves, despite record harvests; military training is being intensified; air raid shelters and communications southward are being pushed forward and the populace psychologically prepared for the needs of a protracted war. Before the US air invasion of North Vietnam, a high Chinese official gave two-to-one odds against a Sino-American war. Now he is said to consider them about six to five. By next spring the American ground buildup in Southeast Asia may exceed 400,000. Some Chinese believe that double that number would be required before the risks of an air invasion of China could be accepted.

What follows was written several months ago, but its publication withheld because of oversanguine expectations at that time of a ceasefire. The bleak events have now caught up with the outlook offered here, and what has long been clear to persons familiar with realities

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in East Asia may today be apparent to all.

Foremost among the realities is that President Johnson's offer of "unconditional discussions" is unacceptable to the Vietnamese, because it is in fact conditioned by a studied American refusal officially to endorse the terms of the international Geneva treaty of 1954, which require permanent withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and nullification of all foreign alliances throughout Vietnam.

Arthur Schlesinger's memoirs demonstrate how rudimentary facts can be obscured beneath massive computer data and synthetic wisdom exercised at the Delphic levels of national decision. According to Professor Schlesinger, President Kennedy was misled, by the unanimous advice of his best intelligence analysts, to believe that the invaders at the Bay of Pigs would provide the yeast for a massive uprising of anti-Castro Cubans. "How," asked the President later, "could I have been so stupid?"

President Johnson assimilated those lessons long ago, and yet has been unable to avoid leading the nation farther into the more perilous Vietnam trap, laid for him by his predecessors. The search is still for those elusive "positions of strength" which must oblige the Vietnamese and the outside world to concede a legal status to American armed intervention.

The rudimentary fact overlooked in the new United States commitments, however, is not only that, like the Bay of Pigs invasion, they lack mass support from those scheduled for liberation. They also provide the Vietnamese opposition with political conditions they most needed to consolidate national sentiment behind them in a protracted struggle in terms favorable for their revolutionary ends. It was obvious enough that they needed open American aggression against Vietnam, in violation of international agreements. Beyond that, they needed American ground forces in large numbers to take charge of the battle. US air attacks around Hanoi automatically acknowledged the political defeat of the hapless carrousel of generals and colonels journalists call the "Saigon regime." Now that regime's military defeat is just as clearly implied by United States' assumption of the armed defense of Saigon itself.

Thus, civil war finally is converted into the semblance of colonial conquest – a pattern as old, for Asians, as their hills. Surely that was not the image President Johnson wished to project before the world, but – *voila!* Only Americans could lead Americans into that trap, and Americans alone – although by no means Johnson alone – have done so. In groping for a way out, the President deserves wider world sympathy than he is likely to get.

Native Troops Become Puppets

Earlier this year it seemed still roughly the idea to seize and secure guerrilla-proof pockets or "ink spots" along the coast and around Saigon and some provincial capitals, and then stage by stage to advance and connect them in a perimeter which would eventually correspond to the frontiers of an "independent" Southland. Now it is seen that the "independents" lose identity as fast as the US troops take over. Native troops reduced to auxiliary policing duties inevitably become popularly regarded as puppets – as the French learned, and more than once.

Meanwhile, the Americans, and Americans alone, must assume responsibility for the systematic pulverization of Vietnamese village life and industry and communications alike – no real distinction can be made in this kind of war – and for attempts to cut off supply lifelines from China. The more the program succeeds the more it antagonizes the populace. And the more, of course, that populace becomes armed against the American invaders and their puppets.

To be sure, what is necessary must be done, and what is done must be necessary – to break the enemy's heart, and then to help him mature. Japan tried by similar means to help North China to mature in a "Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." The result was that between 1937 and 1945 the Chinese Communists increased their forces from 40,000 to more than one million, armed with equipment captured from puppet and invading troops. At that time the Communists were blockaded in their rear by Nationalist Chinese forces. They had no foreign allies, and no bases except the villages and their population living behind nominally enemy-conquered territory.

How is it that American hawks never reflected upon that experience? Do they consider the Vietnamese in a worse position? The United States is a far more formidable enemy than Japan, and Vietnam is much smaller than China. But Vietnam is not a peninsula like Korea or Malaya, it is not Greece with a Tito ready to close its rear, and it is not an island like Santo Domingo. Its western flank cannot be closed, its bases

COMING: *Henry Fairlie on the hidden meaning of "consensus" in American politics*

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are far more advanced than were those of the Chinese Communists in the earlier war, and its rear – with the support of a China militarily more powerful than the Japan of 1937 – seems limitless.

Under the favorable political conditions just described, Vietnamese revolutionary leaders can gradually unite most of the nation in a holy war for independence. For such a struggle 30 million people are their potential base. Behind them, the productive energies of 700 million Chinese can be mobilized along an open frontier. Only nuclear bombing could effectively interrupt Chinese supplies of vital materials – or men, if developments obliged that.

South Korea is also vulnerable to anti-American political activity, as demonstrated by recent violent reactions to the American-sponsored Seoul-Tokyo rapprochement. If China is bombed into the war it would be logical to expect repercussions in Korea. There exist pro-Communist underground organizations in the South. Heavy reinforcement of the 50,000 Americans already in Korea would be required to cope with renewed civil war. Despite the Japanese government's resignation to US policy in Vietnam, until now, popular antiwar sentiment might make American air and naval bases untenable in Japan if conflict spread to China and Korea.

Can an adequate "position of strength" be won by limiting American operations to a modest Vietnam sanctuary held inviolable by command of the air and by ground units connecting a perimeter with immensely superior fire power? That would give the People's Liberation Front ever wider military initiative and complete their political control over the land. North and South together, Vietnam could maintain half a million regular troops and at least as many armed partisans free to roam. In a thoroughly hostile countryside every prudent American would have to scan every peasant as his potential assassin.

If an urban based army needs a ten-to-one superiority to prevail in a people's war led by guerrillas alone – as we are told by experts – what will be the ratio where partisans are supported by disciplined regular armies, operating from secure bases, over an unlimited front in inconclusive battles of endless maneuver?

Defense of occupied enclaves must require ever-expanding penetrations, ultimately reaching across all Indochina. Laos will eventually require more than bombing attacks, and effective occupation of it would likely involve Cambodia. Thailand is now providing Americans with bases used for the bombing of Laos and Vietnam, and must expect eventual retaliation. "Free Thai" partisans are beginning to emerge in the North and might in time become Bangkok's major preoccupation.

Political advantages bestowed by the "American invasion" enable Ho Chi Minh's disciples now to permeate most of Southeast Asia, to bring maximum numbers of people under their organizational influence and party control. A patriotic war educates great numbers of natural peasant leaders, arms them, unites them, and gives them an exalted purpose. In this sense Mao Tse-tung was probably right when he predicted that " the American imperialists" would become the ammunition-carriers, the teachers, and the makers of Vietnamese revolutionaries. Not if they can possibly avoid it are the Chinese likely to intervene to relieve Americans of their unhappy role as the "only" foreign invader.

Until the conflict escalated into a direct American war no one could demonstrate that we truly had vital interests in Vietnam. No means existed whereby Vietnamese could attack or injure America. Now we do have vital interests there – American lives – implanted by force, and in consequence of which we are indeed vulnerable. The irony is that these interests were committed there in fulfillment of intentions to cut the nation in half and to keep it divided. And these interests are now pitted against the only acknowledged liberator, Ho Chi Minh, himself a cultivated product of wide experience in the West, and a man who originally expected to find, in the United States, a bulwark of Vietnam's freedom and independence against any invader – Vietnam's foremost fear then being Chiang Kai-shek's China.

Political Isolation

What Communists have long called the American imperialist war in Vietnam is now widely accepted even in non-Communist Europe as a neo-colonial war. It has contributed greatly to the popularity of de Gaulle's intransigeance, to the disintegration of the SEATO alliance, and to the approaching dissolution of NATO. Under new conditions, Pakistan may yet join Indonesia and Burma in an anti-American bloc. The US war has no significant allies nor is it likely to attract anything but increasing political isolation and vulnerability in other regions. It would be no less than euphoria to assume that Moscow will not take advantage of maximum American embarrassment and frustration in the future.

A potential American expeditionary army of a million men seems indicated for 1966-67 just to avoid disaster around an expanded defense perimeter. And yet, holding the means to destroy the world several times over, we cannot just be driven out, as President Johnson says.

No one doubts that the US has the necessary men, money and materials. Nor is there any question that its towering technical superiority can inflict horrifying damage and roll over large areas of Asia. Ho Chi Minh knows that. He also knows that cities and factories

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can be rebuilt but that political leadership, once lost, can hardly be rewon. "Man is more important than weapons," people are more important than buildings, and time and space are more decisive than temporary possession of points in either category. Such is Ho's philosophy.

In holding Ho Chi Minh responsible for all its troubles the United States itself recognizes him as the only effective national leader in Vietnam. And discovery of that fact by American soldiers, once they reach Vietnam, is not doing their morale any good.

How is it, then, that the President has been unable to avoid a jungle trap surrounded by so many flashing lights, a trap loaded with scorpions of moral, political and military contradictions? In his syndicated column of July 26, Walter Lippmann gave perhaps the best brief explanation.

"There are in truth," he wrote, "two main reasons why we are becoming ever more deeply involved in Vietnam. The first, much the more powerful of the two, is the proud refusal to admit a mistake, to admit the failure of an attempt, begun ten years ago, to make South Vietnam a pro-American and anti-Chinese state. More than anything else we are fighting to avoid admitting failure – to put it bluntly, we are fighting to save face." The second reason Lippmann discerned was "a conception of ourselves as the solitary policeman of mankind," obliged to act against revolution, and especially against radical revolution, in the hope that by doing so in Vietnam the United States can prevent revolutions from arising and succeeding elsewhere. Lippmann's refutation of that delusion is well documented by history.

The Way Out

The cost of staking a great nation's prestige and its lives and treasure on those two aims – the one, essentially sentimentalism, the other an overestimation of mechanical technique and weapons and an underestimation of people – will be more evident two or three years from now. The war may leave Asia in ruins but not the United States, unless it becomes nuclear war. Otherwise, a protracted American war in Asia will merely mean heavy casualties, massive destruction inflicted on other lands, a considerable decline in the world's affection for Uncle Sam, beatification of "Uncle Ho" as an all-Asian hero. The waste of billions of American and Vietnamese labor hours represents the West's most grandiose spiritual failure to date to carry the Christmas message to the East, and the failure will mean the arming and training of myriad new patriotic youths under Communist leadership.

The way out this year is more difficult, as U Thant has said, than it was two years ago. It will be far more so if and after Hanoi is flattened and those who demanded it come to earth again to ask, what next? The President's problem is to make his people see that it can only be a way *out*, not a way farther in. Even the United States, with all its military power, wealth and good intentions, does not possess the means unilaterally to impose a durable political decision in territory so remote from its homeland, so removed from its vital interests, in violation of international treaty obligations recognized by its allies and enemies alike, in transgression against the United Nations Charter, and manifestly irreconcilable with the sovereign rights and capabilities of a people innocent of aggression against the United States, and determined on independence and national unity. Even if by some miracle Dean Rusk could tomorrow pronounce his benediction over a cease-fire, history's verdict on these irrational political ambitions could only echo Tacitus: "They make a desolation and call it peace."

A practical acknowledgment of such truths could lead to negotiations which need not humiliate the President or the United States. That acknowledgment requires that the Chief Executive explicitly endorse the Geneva treaty, call for a restoration of its 1954 terms by a simultaneous withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces and United States forces from the South, and offer the signature of the United States to that treaty at a conference of its signatory powers, called to guarantee pledges of Indochinese independence and freedom from all foreign intervention.

That would meet, "in principle," the conditions without which Ho Chi Minh not only would not but could not bring about a cease-fire. It would also satisfy all the responsibilities of world power which the United States can properly or effectively assume.

To state what is required (and what many have known for some years) is one thing; to expect early remedial action would be highly ingenuous. Practical politicians do not risk injuring the national self-esteem by correcting mistakes which still enjoy voter confidence. Have not the American people – a few eggheads excepted – acquiesced in, even though they have not participated in, past and present decisions taken for them in Vietnam? Is that not the meaning of all the polls to date? It would seem that American voters are not yet feeling any pain, and "one does not become a Buddha without suffering."

Mr. Johnson's task is to popularize a rollback in reverse, without losing political power to the squareheads – an act of legerdemain worthy of a great statesman. And that accomplishment will surely require magic when, as is likely at any armistice conference, Vietnam puts in its claim for reparations as the price of peace – and in sum perhaps as much as the United States has already devoted to war there – and the American people really begin to understand how much easier is the way into colonial wars than the way out.

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THOUGHTS OF THE YOUNG RADICALS

In Northern slums, Southern towns and on university campuses, a new sort of political style and thought has emerged – romantic yet pragmatic, opposed to bureaucracy but not to socialism, peace-minded though rarely pacifist, non-Communist but anti-Cold War. The New Republic *has invited a number of these "new radicals" to say what they think, responding in particular to four questions: (1) Do you think that a "consensus" is now operating in the United States favorable to social progress (material, cultural, moral)? If not, why not? (2) Where, precisely, do you think our society has gone wrong, and with what portents for the future? (3) What is your prescription? (4) What hopeful developments do you see around you or around the corner? This is the second in a series of personal statements to be published in these pages.*

Power and the Myth of Progress

by Todd Gitlin

What irritated liberals about Eisenhower's '50's was the slick assumption that the essential problems had been solved. That delusion was crippled by John F. Kennedy's rallying cry to "get the country moving again," and buried by Lyndon Johnson's mighty sermons on the Great Society. The upshot is a new orthodoxy: There are problems, but solutions are on their way. If the dissidents would only shoulder their load, we could get there a lot faster and with less aggravation all around.

But who are "we" and where is "there" and what is the route?

"We" are said to be classless, pluralistic, happy in our wealth or, if poor, not for long.

"There" is a bigger and better welfare state.

The route is legislation in the New Deal style.

But the consensus is hollow. Its analysis is a fantasy, its objective defies democracy, and its strategy is aspirin for a cancer. Let me indicate what I mean.

The basic liberal misapprehension about America is that power is dispersed among competing institutions which balance each other. The national interest, or the "best for all concerned," is supposed to emerge from the orderly conflict among government, business, unions, interest groups, on down to the PTA. Individual liberty is supposed to be guaranteed because there is always room for one more interest.

But the brute reality is that for most Americans the reins of power – control over elemental life decisions – are remote. Most of us are reduced to apathy, sensing that the world is indifferent to us.

Political free enterprise is as illusory as the economic, largely *because* the economic model is a fraud. The dual engines of industrialization and war have created a tightly-planned corporate complex that dominates the economy. Its power extends over work, information and policy, colossal in degree and unchallenged in kind. The New Deal institutions intended to circumscribe that power do so marginally if at all. The unions, remote from their members, remain largely unable or unwilling to do much more than bargain for incremental dollars and cents. The regulatory commissions putter harmlessly. Progressive taxation is eaten away by regressive exceptions. After each price showdown, government quietly yields another prerogative to the offending companies – and uses its tough-on-business image to clamp down all the harder on wages. Capital export restraints are not allowed to interfere with the business of exploitative investment abroad.

Much of the sham of pluralism stems from the unchallenged domination of the values of the marketplace, the fact that profit still motivates production, communication, education. If the sheer bulk of goods is all-important, who needs democracy? How can the New Deal prevail against the Fast Deal?

Yet it would be a mistake to cast government in the role of hapless bystander, for it too is a mechanism of irresponsible power, almost as free of democratic control as are the corporations, and as comfortably respectful of business as business is of it. Cementing the alliance at the top is the postwar marriage of the defense plants and the Pentagon, necessary to each for its

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own reasons. Comsat and the supersonic transport and commodity subsidies are not isolated boondoggles, but part of a pattern of industry-government symbiosis.

Locally, take urban renewal: a revealing example, because mass powerlessness grips the poor most of all, and the quality of a society must be measured by the way it treats its outcasts. Urban renewal is overwhelmingly a matter of negotiation (tacit or explicit) among federal bureaucrats, local business aggregations, and city governments for whom "renovation" and "modernization" have a very special meaning. "Public" power does not countervail against "private" power – instead, the two combine to exclude from their plans the people most abruptly affected by their decisions. In the white ghetto of Chicago's Uptown, where I live and work, private developers plan to convert the neighborhood into still another stretch of luxury apartment buildings. Neither City Hall nor Washington will interfere: renewal would be good for the city tax base, good for the burgeoning middle class. But who asked the welfare recipients, the migrant Southerners, the day-labor hirelings who live here? (What do *they* know about the intricacies of urban planning? Who do *they* know?) Of course, if they wait long enough, they may be admitted into public housing – where they will be treated like caged animals.

The special powerlessness of the poor derives from the same welfare state that was intended to remedy the excesses of unbridled capitalism. While the poor have been kept alive, they have been subjected to a new set of institutions that extort elementary freedoms as the price of sustenance. This all-or-nothing humanitarianism pays a husbandless mother not quite enough to live decently, never enough to dress the kids so they won't be laughed at in school. To stay on welfare she must submit to a battery of regulations, not of her own making, which keep her on welfare. In the meantime, she has almost no say over how she budgets, where she can live, whether investigators will intrude looking for unauthorized men, whether her son will be beaten by the cops.

Her dependency derives from class structure, not personal fault. In a supposedly fluid America, it is class that apportions a man's share of justice, health, culture, education, ordinary respect – as any visit to a jail, an emergency room, a theatre, a college or a municipal bureau will illustrate. And class perpetuates itself. Material poverty generates inequalities that income alone will not alter, at least at first.

Where Are We Going?

Still, material equality would be one valid criterion of progress. But the liberal assumption of upward mobility conceals the fact that the poor *as a class* are going nowhere. Of course, if you draw an arbitrary income line (even allowing for inflation) and count the number of families subsisting below it, the measure declines over the years. But if equality is your standard, the more relevant index is the distance between the actual and the fair. Thirty years ago the poorest fifth of the population earned 4.1 percent of national income. Last year the poorest fifth earned 4.6 percent. At that rate, equality is nearly a literal millennium away.

The war on poverty, while acknowledging the fact of class stratification, is irrelevant at best and inimical at worst to the standard of democracy. "Maximum feasible participation of the poor" is most honored in the breach. The rationalization of top-down social agencies is no help. The Head Start educational blitz might have meaning – if the schools the kids went back to didn't beat them down all the harder. And militarized drill teams and business-operated training centers offer only caricatures of dignity. After all, the new consensus is that the poor must be changed because they have been "left behind." The assumption is that the rest of us are OK, so we know what the poor need: they need what we have. The arrogance may be wrapped in good intentions, but it is there nonetheless.

But just where is the middle class going? Its schools tend to be training programs in obedience: they break the spirit and condition the reflexes. Its universities? Clark Kerr's smoothly humming knowledge factory may be an exaggerated bad dream, but the reality like the nightmare serves state and business more than education. Despite the teach-ins, faculties are generally encapsulated, like the disciplines they expound. For students, the doctrine of *in loco parentis* still holds sway, accepted as the price of a degree when educational community is missing. It is all good preparation for the life beyond commencement: for meaningless work, for engineering and being engineered, for empty politics and spectator culture – and a smugness that sustains the fragile sense of worth. So this divorce-ridden society clucks over Daniel Moynihan's discovery that the urban Negro family is a wreck. Expense-account executives wonder why the poor are so dirty. Supporters of a $50 billion military budget deplore "crime in the streets." And the terrified occupants of organizational slots believe that revolutions are exported like Coca-Cola or Aston-Martins.

So deep lie the distempers of the society that they are barely scratched by the traditional liberal instruments of change: gradual legislation and the ballot-box. The liberal faith in additive progress mistakes quantity for quality, or, where it hazards innovation (as in the civil rights bills and the war on poverty), fails to come to grips with powerlessness, inequality, human waste.

It is not simply that choices turn out to be echoes, though this is certainly true. Worse, elections have been irrelevant because the public issues of control – foreign policy, militarism, economic power, decentralization –

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have been defined *out* of politics by an elite's appeals to free enterprise and exclusive expertise. Then too, the personalized consequences of mass impotence – boredom, conformity, inconsequentiality, violence, indifference – are mostly immune to changes in nominal power.

The same blindness arises as liberalism addresses the hungry majority of the world. To the anger of the peasant it offers only the chimera of "orderly change" – and, that failing, napalm. Legitimately horrified at the price some revolutionaries are willing to pay for economic development, it brands them indistinguishable, treating the name "Communist" as the end rather than the beginning of political discourse. Vietnam is thus no tragic mistake; it is the logic of American "law and order."

What Is To Be Done

The New Left is said to be longer on critique than on prescription. The charge is rather accurate on its face, but we have had good reason to be tentative and skeptical about blueprints. For one thing, we have learned that blueprints tend to freeze. But rigid agnosticism too can be and is being transcended. Values and experience generate certain guidelines.

1. *Power must be shared among those affected, and resources guaranteed to make this possible.* This formula is quite precise. It means, for example, that slums should be rebuilt according to plans adopted by the residents, with capital provided from public funds and labor from the neighborhood. Welfare programs should be supervised by the recipients, until welfare becomes superfluous because a decent income is guaranteed for all who will not or cannot work. The mass media should be opened up to all comers, with no restrictions except a bias toward dissent. Political candidates should be publicly subsidized. The university's curricular and extracurricular decisions should be up to students and faculty alone. The great corporations should, somehow, be made responsible to workers and consumers. (Here we are in special need of fresh thinking and honest experimentation.) New political institutions are needed to localize and distribute as much power as possible: police forces elected by residents; neighborhood courts with authority over the quality of goods, the availability of loans, the behavior of municipal, state and federal agencies, etc.; computerized referenda on national issues like war and compulsory health insurance; and so on.

2. *The institutional props of racism must be extirpated.* This would entail not just the vigorous enforcement of existing laws and the Constitution but the guarantee of income, the razing of the ghetto by its unemployed and the founding of new, integrated communities, the provision of land and crop allotments for sharecroppers and small farmers, the extension of a serious federal presence in the vigilante South, fair jury legislation, and more along these lines.

3. *America must put down the big stick and take self-determination seriously.* Revolution must at least be tolerated if not embraced – then we may earn the right to be critical. Foreign investments must be withdrawn unless invited by governments committed to their people. Disarmament is imperative, and this means rapprochment with China. Overall, whatever progress the comfortable make must not be at the expense of the miserable.

But a great deal depends on how change takes place. The top-down facsimiles of these proposals would amount to little, if anything. Far more than any particular program, America needs a movement dedicated to remaking America at the roots. The solid and decisive changes must be the burden of people who see the need and organize, wherever they are, to demand and create a society that would honor men. *Only* the experience of movement confronting institutional power can generate the issues now submerged in rhetoric and helplessness.

There are stirrings of this new politics:

► in a civil rights movement beginning to grapple with the hard issues of sustenance (the Mississippi Poor People's Corporation) and dignity (organizing work among gang kids on the West Side of Chicago) and power (the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party);

► in the SDS-catalyzed "community unions" of poor whites and Negroes in the North, concerned with welfare, housing, the police, cooperatives and a political voice for the poor;

► in university reform movements and teach-ins and a scattering of independent Free Universities (*à la* Paul Goodman) where student-faculty community emerges;

► in outbreaks of low-level union agitation over working conditions and shop control, and migrant worker strikes;

► with artists and writers who are not only seeking truth and spirit but are finding and fashioning audiences who care about truth and spirit;

► with doctors who not only support Medicare but are organizing to plan the institutions of equal medicine; lawyers and law students who enlist with those most in need of justice; clergymen taking the social gospel seriously; scientists who resist the militarization of their skills;

► and with the many who refuse to countenance the war in Vietnam, and try to stop it.

If the whole seems puny when matched against the requirements of its vision, that is simply a measure of how powerful the powerful are, and how beaten – or comfortable – the powerless. Yet in this movement's variousness and its growing coherence there is a strength that will not be easily drowned, or purchased, or sloughed off. There *is* a chance. Let democrats and humanists seize it while we can.

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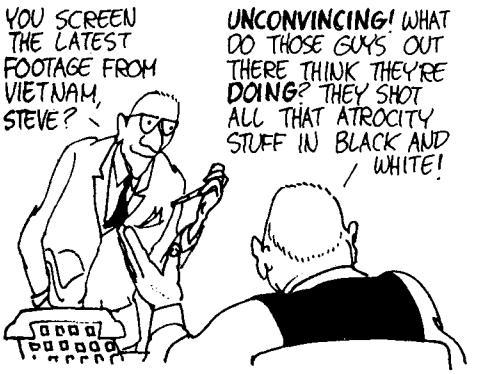
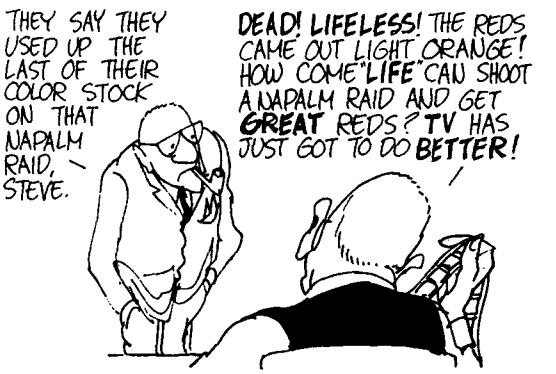
JULES FEIFFER


YOU SCREEN THE LATEST FOOTAGE FROM VIETNAM, STEVE?
UNCONVINCING! WHAT DO THOSE GUYS OUT THERE THINK THEY'RE DOING? THEY SHOT ALL THAT ATROCITY STUFF IN BLACK AND WHITE!


THEY SAY THEY USED UP THE LAST OF THEIR COLOR STOCK ON THAT NAPALM RAID, STEVE.
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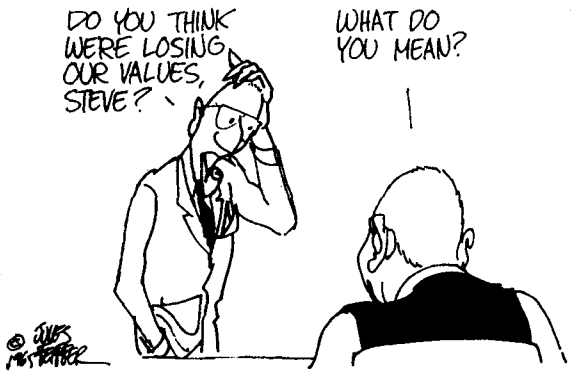

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Janet Flanner's Paris

by Joseph Featherstone

Janet Flanner signed "Genet" to her first Paris letter for *The New Yorker* in 1925. She is a figure from the glittering Paris of the '20's, the revolutionary city which forged a new French art, a new European literature, and part of an American literature as well. Genet's generation of American writers in Paris – this was the time, you recall, when good Americans went to Paris when they died – fashioned American speech into a medium for serious writing, and became world writers in the process. By making what was American in themselves conscious, the exiles, strangely enough, ceased to be provincials. Genet has lived through and helped shape that change in our culture, and this, quite apart from her intelligence and her wit, gives the "Letter from Paris" a rare authority.

Paris Journal 1944-1965
by Janet Flanner (Genet)
edited by William Shawn
(Atheneum; $8.95)

This is a distinctive kind of journalism, less intensely personal than François Mauriac's "Bloc-Notes," much more a record of a changing intellectual scene than Alistair Cooke's lucid forays in *The Guardian* into American politics and folkways. Her column is the work of an unusual sensibility given full liberty to play over the shimmering surface of the intellectual life of Paris, which means, of course, the intellectual life of France. Her vagariousness about time, her looseness of form, her elaborately casual tone, all reflect Genet's privileged freedom: the graceful prose is never battered shapeless against a deadline. And although she is often profound, she never takes herself altogether seriously. Realizing what few reporters do – that a large part of journalism is simply the entertainment business – she can gaily splurge a whole column on some *soufflé* of news like a flower show. With her eye for the trivial and her sense of high drama, Genet brings to her accounts of French public life some of the *mesure*, the balance and proportion on which the French pride themselves, and which they achieve only in the private realms of art and the family.

You would expect that any collection covering twenty years, everything from Mistinguette to Giradoux, would omit something; and every reader will nurse grudges about what Genet has ignored. I regret, for example, her inadequate treatment of Andre Malraux's remarkable philosophical prose-poems on the nature of art. She makes no mention at all of one of the most interesting contemporary French thinkers, the anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss. And, except for Simone Weil, French Catholic thought is pretty much treated as if it didn't exist. Still, in *Paris Journal*, Genet has given us the full flavor of how it has been to live in Paris for these last momentous decades. The book is a triumph of journalism.

Some haunting pieces cover the period immediately after the end of the war. In September, 1944, the late A. J. Liebling began a wireless "Letter from Paris" on the liberation of the city with one of the most moving of the many eloquent sentences he wrote: "For the first time in my life and probably the last, I have lived for a week in a great city where everybody is happy." Genet's first pieces, toward the end of the year, reflect a warier mood: to her the liberation brought the best and the worst in French life to the surface. And then, like old newsreels narrated by a *clairvoyante* familiar with the ghosts of a more splendid Paris, the scenes flicker by. With the hardening of the Communists and the rejection of de Gaulle, the frail Resistance unity cracks. She records the first postwar political crisis full of foreboding that there will be many, many, more.

How timely this wry prophecy sounds, written before the war ended: "One of the reasons for supposing that the war will soon be over is that all three of the Allies have been getting along together as badly as we usually do in peace." She pointed out, with much truth, that the one lesson the Fourth Republic seemed to draw from the war experience was the "cold and finally unhypocritical fact that the most important thing to men today is money." She was impressed with the pervasive atmosphere of guilt and self-hatred, the unhappy French legacy of the war and occupation. Just as they were later to find scapegoats for their crumbling empire, the French tried to find them for the defeat. This is what gives such significance to Genet's dramatic reporting of the treason trial of Marshal Pétain. As the trial of the old man bumbled on, it "tarnished everyone it touched. An atmosphere in which all men seem faintly fallible and all methods slightly illegal has established itself as the natural air to breathe in the small, stuffed, shoddy courtroom." Leon Blum, returned like Lazarus from Buchenwald, said the only intelligent things at the trial. The essence of the Vichy regime was its total absence of any moral base, he said, at the same time warning the vengeful to reflect that it was the stupidity and selfishness of the rich that cost them the prewar political leadership of France. There were no plausible scapegoats, for too many were to blame.

After the first breaths of free air, the creative outburst of René Char, Sartre, and Camus, you sense a difference in the kind of intellectual life Genet is witnessing in the postwar period. After the first decade, France is much less a source of new currents of modern thought. If anything, the current flows the other way, and Paris is reading German philosophy and American writers like Faulkner and Hemingway. Also, it seems less possible to report on the state of the French mind by paying attention to what French writers are saying. Before the war, there was a very clear French tradition that the nation's writers were the keepers of the public conscience. More than that, figures like Gide or Maurras incarnated

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public dilemmas in their own lives. They were emblems of French life in all its aspects; and the French conferred on them a kind of intellectual and sentimental stardom. In this tradition there was a fusion of art and mind and politics. (Probably our only man of letters in the French sense is Robert Penn Warren.) The heirs of the *philosophes* were expected to answer the pressing questions of the day, and by reporting on what they said, you could touch on truly significant issues in the society. In the '40's and early '50's, it is true, there were two towering figures fulfilling the traditional exemplary role: Camus and Sartre. But as Genet moves into the '50's, all voices become more private. François Mauriac continues to express his quite lonely Christian vision, and Andre Malraux emerges as a spokesman for the Gaullists, but neither talks with the old authority. Literature in France today seems to be self-contained, not to say self-destructive – for the French practitioners of the anti-novel are better at theorizing than novel-writing. And with the passing of the great luminaries the arts themselves are more fragmented, with less relation to each other. In this general pause – whatever connection it has with the peace of de Gaulle – the one exception is the film. And starting in 1959, the year that *Black Orpheus, Hiroshima, Mon Amour,* and *Les Quatre Cents Coups* took the prizes at Cannes, Genet devotes much intelligent commentary to new French films. (In a characteristic aside, she reports on Jean-Paul Belmondo, "who was thrown out by the *Conservatoire d'Art Dramatique* because he was so remarkably ugly, they said, that he could never appear on stage with a woman in his arms, since the audience would laugh. This turns out to be utterly untrue.")

The sense of a lull in French cultural life seems especially pronounced, because so many of Genet's pieces are elegies for the grand figures of earlier days. There is an irredeemable loss in the death of Cocteau, whose energies touched all the arts – he died the same day as his good friend, Edith Piaf. Two of the three original creators of modern French art are given appropriate obituaries – Matisse and Braque.

The most expressive and significant activities in France during the '50's and '60's were not artistic. Perhaps they were industrial and financial. Certainly they were not in the realm of politics, for after the fall of Mendès-France (to whom Genet is very fair) the public drama centered on de Gaulle. She is very good on the atmosphere of terror and defeat which brought the man to power, the senseless Algerian war following on the senseless Indochina war (accounts of which echo in American ears like the muffled drum of prophecy). Perhaps because she lived through the chaos and the growing cynicism of the Fourth Republic, as well as the Third, she has been more sympathetic to de Gaulle than most American re-

COMMENTARY

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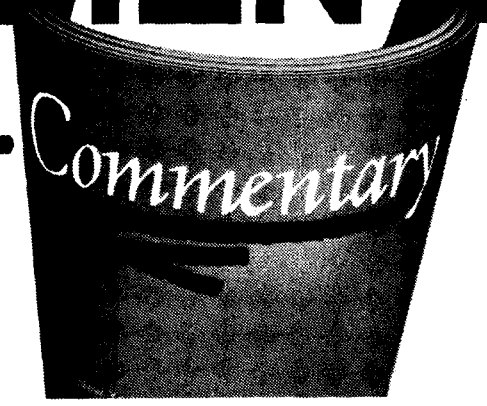

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porters. Her de Gaulle is a figure out of the classic French theatre, a necessary but no less tragic man of the hour.

If I had to pick my favorite pieces from this collection, I might choose her dramatic scenes – the Pétain treason trial, the uprising that ushered in the Gaullist regime, or her account of the 1960 Algiers insurrection by the paratroops and the Foreign Legion against de Gaulle. De Gaulle himself on the radio was "the male voice of French tragedy, more moving because anguished by reality, than any stage Brittanicus." After the abortive uprising, the disloyal First Regiment of the Legion was disbanded – she pictures them in their pride, blowing up their Algiers headquarters and pulling out of the city in trucks, insolently singing Edith Piaf's *"Je ne regrette rien."* Even more than her dramatic reports, sketches of individuals reveal her art at its best. I was moved by her malicious, sad portrait of Utrillo, a woman-ridden alcoholic living by an increasingly sterile talent. There are many others, but the one I remember best is Genet's homage to Leon Blum, who kept alive his jaunty tolerance, his urbane skepticism, and his idealism, through the sordid catastrophe of the '30's and imprisonment by the Germans. In 1942, Blum warned de Gaulle that no democratic state can exist without a sound party system. Twenty years later his memory and his ideals stand as rebukes to the dangerous pretensions of the Fifth Republic.

Theory and Practice of Socialism

by Norman S. Care

I think it is Mr. Crossman's concern for both the theory and practice of socialism that makes his writing uniformly exciting. As Minister of Housing in Wilson's Labour Government he must formulate policies to cope with Britain's most formidable domestic problem. But for him policy-making means something more than, say, taking a crack at social reform in light of a few homely platitudes. It means deriving remedies for social defects from a full-blown theory of what society is all about.

The Politics of Socialism
by R. H. S. Crossman
(Atheneum; $5.95)

The distinction between platitudes and theory as a basis for social and political effort is one we do not easily recognize in our own political life. And I suspect this must be part of the reason we so often rest content with stop-gappish solutions. Insofar as our political virtue is nothing stiffer than compromise between conflicting forces, our occasional attempts at reform are predictably either too late (civil rights legislation) or too shallow (Medicare) to get at the evident defects in our national life. What we lack, or more precisely what our political parties fail to provide, is the theoretical framework within which to understand and shape our own social development. A part of Crossman's aim in these excellent essays is to show the continuing need for theory as a rationale of political effort.

These essays were written over the years 1950-64, with the exception of the early "Theory and Practice of British Freedom" (1938), and they touch upon a wide variety of topics, including revisionism in the Labour Party, the problems of national security, the functions of strategic propaganda, and much else. But the book as a whole represents chiefly an attempt to wrestle with what Crossman takes to be a basic difficulty in socialism:

> "Socialism in fact is not an alternative to parliamentary democracy but the adaptation of it to the requirements of a modern rapidly developing industrial state. And here the socialist is confronted with an 'inherent contradiction,' between the means of socialism – public ownership and centralized planning, for example – and the enlargement of in-

NEXT WEEK
The Spy Who Came in from the Cold
Reviewed by Stanley Kauffmann

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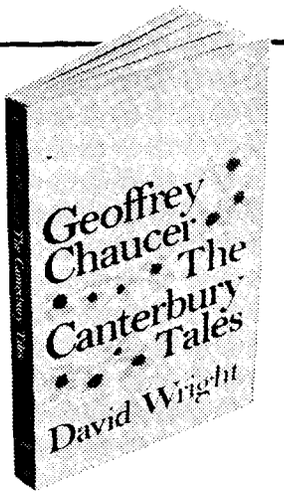

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dividual freedom which is its end."

Now, the roots of this "contradiction" are in the fact that states in which huge urban industrial complexes form centers for human life now require organization, planning, direction, and control. The alternatives seem to be planning as an implicit product of the functioning of private interests, or giving responsibility for social direction to public authorities acting for the people.

Crossman's case for the latter alternative spans both moral and practical grounds. His practical argument in "The Affluent Society" (1959) is that to allow planning to remain a function of private interests is to be ill-equipped in the struggle with tightly organized states: "as long as the public sector of industry remains the minority sector throughout the Western world, we are bound to be defeated in every kind of peaceful competition which we undertake with the Russians and the Eastern bloc." But the heart of the case for socialism is for Crossman what it was for Tawney: the moral superiority of the socialist alternative. Indeed, Crossman writes in "Planning for Freedom" (1956) that, as a socialist party, "Labour's dynamic has always been a moral protest against social injustice, not an intellectual demonstration that capitalism is bound to collapse." There is a third argument – rather a combination of these two – which is set out in the most recent essay "Scientists in Whitehall" (1964) as "a new scientific case for socialist planning":

> "Nothing will halt the scientific and technological revolution under which we live. And in this case, a community which does not take control of these forces is doomed to suicide, either by the nuclear weapon or by one of the other disastrous explosions which occur when these new technologies are injected into an unplanned society, unattuned to change."

Crossman concedes that these arguments carry no commitment to any particular economic theory. Socialism is at bottom a protest against any system which allows for the abuse of economic power. Such power "always degenerates into privilege when those who hold it are accountable to no one but themselves." Crossman continues:

> "One of the main postwar features of the Western world has been the steady concentration of economic power in the hands of the managerial class, whose responsibility to their shareholders is frequently titular. In Tawney's sense, the men who run our great industries today form an irresponsible oligarchy; and the degree of public control we have achieved is quite inadequate to ensure that they are in any sense accountable to the community."

It is one thing, however, to register a convincing objection against social management by private interests, but quite another to construct the socialist alternative in such a way as to *disallow* its containing a defect of very nearly the same sort. It is this I believe which bothers Crossman when he speaks of an "inherent contradiction" in socialism. The difficulty is generated by the realization that transferring economic power to public authority does not itself

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promise to secure individual freedoms against abuse. *This* power can after all be abused in the hands of men with private interests or men operating "in the name of the people." What is at stake is not merely corruption in high places (whether private or national), or the impersonality of large industries, but, again, the prospects for accountability to the people. Crossman sees that there is no guarantee that the boards of a nationalized industry or public corporation will be accountable to the community, and until this possibility is cancelled the task of reform is hardly finished: "The Socialist must be courageous enough to admit that the evils of oligopoly are not limited to the private sector of the economy."

But how can the direction of society be made fully accountable to the people? The trick, of course, is to bring the planning authorities under the purview of the people. But *how*? In Britain, one must begin by counter-balancing the planning authorities through reviving "the challenge which Parliament used to make to the Executive." But generally: Western nations must enlarge the reviewing role of the people's elected representatives.

This is surely correct, so far as it goes. What exactly is the enlarged role to consist in? How can it be initiated and brought about? Most important: how does it guarantee or even contribute toward the desired accountability? For another version of the same difficulty lurks in the possibility of abuse of the power of review by the people's representatives. We are here, I think, at the very limits of political theory, for we must now speak, as Crossman does, of the need for public men "who can combine very high intellectual calibre with absolute incorruptibility." This is something no theory can provide, and it is at this point that the gamble with practice begins.

TELEVISION

Television's Tailfin Age

I have always held that television is not worth criticism. How, after all, can a grown man bring a detached judgment to bear on *My Mother, the Car*? Television is the marketplace and all the gilding in the world cannot make it anything but. On these terms, I have by and large been content with it. That is, until this season.

The new year has been so dismal that I feel obliged to explain why I have seen so much of it. Out of the largesse of my landlord, I was recently given a color television set. It was 1950 all over again. Night after night I sat mesmerized, supremely indifferent to content, marveling at the technical novelty of the rainbow before me. Then, as it had to, the novelty faded and the stunning banality began to bleed through. I don't propose to go into detail. Suffice it to say that I disagree with the verdict that this is the worst season in history only on the academic ground that "worst" is not a relative word, and is one that has been applied to every new season in memory. The question is why.

The conventional villain is the rating system, and, in fact, the mind does boggle at the mathematical legerdemain exercised by the various rating services. In an early survey of the new season, one service broke down the nine to ten p.m. time spot on Monday night into shares of the audience percentages. If you totted up the figures, you discovered that the competing programs on the three networks were reaching *100.7 percent* of the listening audience. Appalling as this sleight of hand is, however, we are being too glib if we blame all the ills of television on the ratings. They have never pretended to be anything but what they were: instruments which in the absence of anything else perform the necessary function of advising what a certain segment of the audience is viewing at a given time. The ratings are only intolerable because of the networks, which have become all powerful and all craven at one and the same time. Last year, the three net-

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works grossed nearly one billion dollars, more than the gross income of the other 560 independent TV stations in the US combined. Ten years ago, the networks owned two-thirds of the prime time shown; today they own nearly ninety-five percent.

This enormous power has bred enormous arrogance. With the departure of Newton Minow from the Federal Communications Commission, there has been no stentorian voice to deplore the "vast wasteland." Whatever Minow's faults, his self-righteous presence alone acted as a governor on mediocrity. "Since we licked Minow," a network executive recently said in *Variety*, "we couldn't care less." An air of permissiveness prevails in Washington, influenced however unconsciously by the fact that the man in the White House is himself a station owner. Not long ago, the House of Representatives passed a bill to prohibit the FCC from limiting the number of commercials on television. With such an official atmosphere in Washington, the networks believe they can act with impunity in exercising control over the airwaves.

Yet this absolute contempt for the public is still tinged with corporate cowardice. The programming hierarchies today are composed of nothing but panderers and corporate eunuchs. "I don't enjoy most of what is on TV," says Michael Dann, programming vice president at CBS Television. "My tastes are different. I'm a program bureaucrat. Our job is to pick shows for most of the people most of the time."

The effect of this mentality is apparent when you turn on your set. Television has always been an imitative medium, but this season appears to have been programmed on a Xerox machine. Bad movies begat bad television series, and worse, bad television series begat terrible television series. One packaging firm has three new shows on the air this year, one lifted from last season's hit, *Bewitched*, the other two distaff versions of *Bonanza* and *The Man From U.N.C.L.E.* respectively. And so the vicious circle: the packagers blame the networks, the networks blame the ratings, and the rating services maintain they are doing the job the networks pay them to do.

The whole process is expensively self-defeating. There were some 300 pilot shows offered last year; forty got on

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the air. (What, one wonders, were the other 260 like?) Of the forty, thirty-five are disasters on the only terms television knows, that is, economic failures. In years gone by, the networks could recoup some of their investment on failed shows by syndicating them to independent stations for reruns on non-prime time hours. But the syndication market today is so glutted with failed shows that only the hits are rerun. Costs are so high that nothing original is ventured.

At the networks, a kind of programming euthanasia seems to be at work. Apparently the programmers are forsaking the legendary twelve-year-old mind in favor of twelve-year-olds, period. *Tammy, Shindig, Flipper* (about a porpoise, yet), each more revolting than *Lassie*, each geared exclusively for the prepubescent. For their elders, the trend is toward movies, and while they are better than anything else on television, they represent the final rejection of TV as a new entertainment medium. Eight hours of prime time a week are now given over to old movies, which means that between eight and sixteen shows produced for television do not get on the air. Last year, CBS bought fifty old films from Samuel Goldwyn, including five Danny Kaye pictures. Why bother tuning in on Kaye's weekly, black-and-white CBS hour, already on the rating ropes, when you can see a technicolor, multi-million dollar version of him on the Movie of the Week?

The only heartening sign as television sweats through its tailfin age is that the viewing audience, so long taken for granted by the networks, is finally wising up. According to a survey in *Broadcast* magazine, there has been a two percent drop in television's audience in the past year, or a loss of 1.3 million viewers. The audience is not falling away merely because the product is so terrible. Now that the novelty has worn off, it is just unnatural to sit around and watch TV all night. The audience decline in conjunction with the flop of the new shows should warn the networks that viewing has become more selective and that old programming concepts predicated on the viewers of the early fifties are out of date.

The networks, however, have always shown a relentless aversion to danger signals. The pilots worked up for the 1966-67 season all seem to be spinoffs of this season's spinoffs. Perhaps all we can hope is for the audience to continue to decline, forcing the networks to retool, much as Detroit had to retool seven years ago in the face of declining orders brought about by the invasion of smaller, cheaper, better foreign cars. Television does have its small, profitable Volkswagen audience. We don't ask for much – just one hour a week per network that doesn't insult our intelligence. It will never make TV a Rolls Royce of the arts, but it would certainly go a long way toward removing the tailfins from the rest of television's products.

JOHN GREGORY DUNNE

Correspondence

Crossed Wires

Sirs:

The simultaneous arrival of confusing cablegrams from various cities of the world, plus the confused state of mind of an editor in anticipation of Christmas contributed to the publication of the following information in a Swiss weekly last week:

Immediately after the Kremlin had announced the resignation of its chief planner of wars of liberation, Bundynsky, Washington's Sovietologists declared with rare unanimity that the Kennedov forces in the C.C. had suffered a serious setback, with dire consequences ensuing for the prospects of world peace. It appears that the fortunes of two well-known hard-liners, foreign minister Rusky and defense minister Namarovitch, have been enhanced, a development which bodes ill for the forthcoming disarmament talks in Geneva. However, some sources contacted by this correspondent point out, it is significant that Mr. Bundynsky has not been shelved completely but remains available for party work and has received an important post, that of director of the Marx-Lenin Institute, the chief ideology-making agency of the Soviet Union. Moreover, it is to be expected that the Chairman of the Presidium, party boss Jonsonov, will in the future take a hand in shaping foreign

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policy, and his well-known intention to increase consumer satisfactions should be a brake against the ambitious expansion plans of the war party in the Kremlin.

On the other hand "Capitologists" in Moscow have received the news of President Mickey Yawn's retirement from the Washington political theater with mixed feelings. The wiley strategist was, after all, one of the few in Washington who believed in peaceful coexistence, and his replacement by the dour party boss Podger is considered a reinforcement of the tendencies toward a return of the dictatorship of the apparatus. A deep mystery surrounds the transfer of Mr. O'Shelpin from state to party offices. Moscow "Capitologists" contacted by this paper point out that O'Shelpin grew up in the FBI service and his disappearance from the public eye may well mean that he has been reassigned to the CIA or some other outfit connected with cold war strategies. Though official sources prefer to withhold judgment, it is feared that the change of guard in the White House foreshadows an increase in the intensity of imperialist war-mongering and certainly indicates no relaxation in the ruling circles' cold war attitude.

Henry M. Pachter
New York City

"Ward 7" and Mental Health

Sirs:

I must comment on what seems to be confusion in Thomas S. Szasz' review of *Ward 7* (December 11). The reviewer makes a good point, that confinement in a mental hospital can be (and has been) used in lieu of incarceration in prison. No one can disagree with that.

Next, he launches into an attack on "mental health" work in general, as though it was part of an evil conspiracy to silence those who disagree with the political party in power.

The goal of mental health associations is to help people so that they will *not* need to go into a mental hospital. Lacking a dictionary definition of "mental health," we may still consider the words as roughly equivalent to "physical health." . . . Here in Portales, help is available from many sources, including medical doctors, educators, psychiatrists, a speech and hearing clinic, lawyers, social workers and others, coordinated through a volunteer agency. The staff of the State Hospital for the Insane gives its full cooperation in treating and counseling persons at home, thus keeping many of them *out* of an institution completely. Hospital facilities can be used only for those relatively few persons who are dangerous to themselves or others if not restrained. Commitment of any patient has to be authorized by a reputable doctor. Through a policy of frequent review of all cases, it is extremely unlikely that anyone could be kept in the hospital unless he demonstrates a need for treatment not possible to be given at home. I do not presume to say that New Mexico is the only place where this approach towards mental illness (or mental health) is being used; it certainly works for us.

Mrs. W. A. Anthony
Portales, New Mexico

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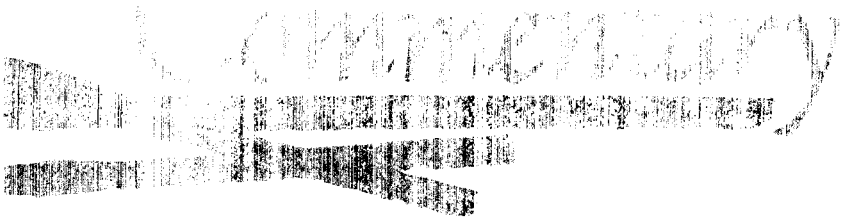

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*David Daiches, COMMENTARY, September 1965

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